Singular.	Plural.	English.
Ol-ämete	Il-ämetok	The nail, claw.
Ol-oikitiki	Il-oikitikin	The elbow.
El-lenywa	Il-lenyok	The long hairs of the tail of a wildebeest or zebra, &c.; the fan made of these hairs.

Examples of other words:

Ol-oingoni	Il-oingok	The bull, the strong man.
Eng-aji	Ing-ajijik	The family, hut.
En-lamaiyo	In-lamok	The leaf.
Ol-äpuaaiyoi	Il-äpuaaiyok	The fruit.
Ol-ówaru	Il-ówarak	The beast of prey.
E-mótioi	I-mótiok	The cow's dung.
Eng-are	Ing-ariak	The water.
Ol-murelian	Il-murelik	The beetle.

Class IV.

According to another rule which applies fairly regularly to a large class of substantives, the singular appears to be formed from the plural by adding *i* or *ni*[1]. Comprised in this group are the names of tribes, a few communities of people, most insects, some birds and small animals, and a number of words which were probably first known in their collective form. Examples of names of tribes:

Plural.	Singular.	English.
Il-Ashumba	Ol-Ashumbai	The Swahili.
Il-Tatgwal	Ol-Tatgwali	The Nandi.
Il-Kôyo	Ol-Kôyoni	The Elgeyo.
Il-Uasin-gishu	Ol-Uasin-gishui	The Uasin Gishu Masai.
Il-Kume	Ol-Kumei	The Turkana.
Il-Turkana	Ol-Turkanai	
Il-Kamasya	Ol-Kamasyai	The Kamasia.
Il-Kakumu	Ol-Kakumui	The Lumbwa[2].
Il-Lumbwa	Ol-Lumbwani	
Il-Oikop	Ol-Oikopani	The Lumbwa Masai[3].
Il-Lumbwa	Ol-Lumbwani	

[1] This construction is by no means peculiar to the Masai. In Persian, for instance, *i* is added to a word to mean one individual, e.g. zan, woman, zani, one particular woman; bacha, a child, bachai, one particular child; bar, time, bari, one time, once.

[2] A tribe living near the Lake Victoria, whose real name is Kip-sikisi.

[3] The Lumbwa Masai, who call themselves 'l-Oikop, and who are often referred to by the Masai proper as 'l-Oegot-ele [illegible] (the hard teeth), live in German East Africa extending as far south as Nguruman. Their language is almost identical with that of the Masai in British territory, the chief difference being the pronunciation of one or two letters, *k* being spoken like *gh*, *g* being pronounced *y* or *n*, and the vowels being softened. There is also a tribe of people called 'l-Oikop (Lumbwa or Loikob) living at the south end of Lake Rudolf who apparently speak Masai. They were met by Teleki and Höhnel (*The Discovery of Lakes Rudolf and Stephanie*) and by Wellby (*'Twixt Sirdar and* [illegible]).

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Plural.	Singular.	English.
Il-Kapirondo	Ol-Kapirondoni	The Kavirondo.
Il-Kikuyu	Ol-Kikuyuni	The Kikuyu.
Il-Toposa	Ol-Toposai	The Tesota.
Il-Meiru	Ol-Meirui	The Chaga[1].
I-Sukk	O-Suki	The Suk.
Il-Torrobo	Ol-Torroboni	The Dorobo[2].

Examples of names of communities of people:

In-gera	En-gerai	The child.
I-sipolio	O-sipolioi	The novice, i.e. a boy who has recently been circumcised.
Il-barnot	Ol-barnoti	The shaved one, i.e. the warrior who has not yet grown pig-tails.
Il-murran	Ol-murrani	The warrior.
Il-meek	Ol-meeki	The native, the savage, applied to all Bantu tribes.
Il-omon	Ol-omoni	The stranger.
I-sanguro	O-sanguroi	The hypocrite.
Il-tasiwuiya	Ol-tasiwuiyai	The sick.
Il-Aimer	Ol-Aimeri	The *Aimer* age[3].
Il-Aiser	Ol-Aiseri	The *Aiser* clan (of Masai)[4].

Examples of names of insects, small animals, and birds:

Ing-olas[5]	Eng-olasi	The very small ant.
In-derpet	En-derpeti	The grasshopper.
In-dorrok	En-dorroki	The small bird.
In-dianangus	En-dianangusi	The marabou stork.
In-dero	En-deroi	The rat.
Il-kuru	Ol-kurui	The maggot, worm.
Il-dede	El-dedei	The frog.
Il-mudier	Ol-mudieri	The tick.
Il-derek	Ol-dereki	The bee.
Il-mesi	Ol-mesii	The locust.
Il-oldoo	Ol-olooi	The lizard.
Il-oimon	Ol-oimoni	The flea.

[1] Each tribe of the Chaga people (the inhabitants of Kilima Njaro) has a special name; thus, Il-Kibosu (sing. Ol-Kibosoni), the Kibosho.

[2] Some writers prefer *Andorobo* and even *Wandorobo*. The *D* has been retained at the commencement of the word, as Torobo would not be easily recognised. En-dorobo (pl. 'N-dorobo) is the Masai for the tsetse fly. These words have probably no connection with dong, short, as has been erroneously stated.

[3] Vide p. 263. [4] Vide p. 260.

[5] Also rarely Ing-olash. It is perhaps of interest to note that en-dirangu, the large reddish-brown ant, called siafu by the coast people, which bites fiercely, is not included in this group, and forms its plural by adding -n to the singular.

Plural.	Singular.	English.
Il-ojidige	Ol-ojidigani	The fly.
Ing-ojidige	Eng-ojidigani	The mosquito.
I-sambururumbur	O-sambururumburi	The butterfly.
I-murambalan	E-murambalani	The bat, swallow, swift.

Examples of other words which belong to this class:

Plural.	Singular.	English.
Il-aiaukuj	Ol-aiaukuji	The kidney.
Il-ala	Ol-alai	The tooth, tusk.
Ing-atambo	Eng-atambai	The cloud.
Il-dil	Ol-dil	The spark, stain.
In-garara	En-gararai	The quill.
In-gipure	En-gipurei	The scar.
In-giruana	En-giruanai	The ash.
Il-keko	Ol-kekoi	The thorn, thorny place.
Il-kidonge	Ol-kidongei	The tail.
Il-kililang	Ol-kililangi	The sheep's dung.
Il-kiyo	Ol-kiyoi	The tear.
Il-mao	Ol-maoi [1]	The twins.
Il-moneiga	Ol-moneigani	The corpse, spirit.
I-motoor	E-motoori	The egg [2].
I-dipik	E-dipiki	The sin [3].
Il-dikidiga	Ol-dikidigani	The mud.
Il-pash	Ol-pashi	The grain or cob of maize.
Il-piyo	Ol-piyoi	The chain.
I-ngilaro	O-ngilaroi	The scurvy.
I-ngilenge	E-ngilengei	The iron wire.
I-saat	E-saati	The dust.
I-senya	O-senyai	The sand.
Il-tian	Ol-tiani	The bamboo.
Il-tadatia	Ol-tadatai	The bell, clapper.

EXCEPTIONS.

There are only a few exceptions to this rule. They are as follows:

Plural.	Singular.	English.
Il-Maasae	Ol-Maasani	The Masai [4].
Il-Aisungun	Ol-Aisungui	The European [5].
Il-Musungu	Ol-Musungui	The European [5].

[1] Ol-maoi means a child who has a twin brother or sister.

[2] A large egg-shaped cask used for beer, &c., is Ol-motori, pl. Il-motoria.

[3] An unlucky child, or a [illegible], is Ol-dipiti, pl. I-dipitia.

[4] The original name of the Masai is said to have been Il-Kor (sing. Ol-Kori), and one even now occasionally hears old people using this word, especially when relating stories of former times. According to tradition the present form dates from the introduction by the Swahili traders of a certain kind of bead called Sae or Saen (sing. O-Saeni).

[5] Europeans, or white people, were formerly called 'L-ojuju, the hairy ones. This appellation was afterwards changed to 'L-aisungun, a corruption of the Swahili word Musungu, which in its turn gave way to the present form.

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Plural.	Singular.	English.
Il-Chumari	Ol-Chumari	The Somali.
I-Sigiriaishi	O-Sigiriaishi	The Somali.
I-suyen	O-suyai	The wild dog.
Il-munyo	Ol-munyoi	The beard.

Class V.

In this class, like the preceding one, the singular of substantives appears to be formed from the plural. This is done by the affix a or a.

A large number of words belonging to this class are formed by simply adding at or et in the plural and ata or eta in the singular to the roots of verbs not commencing with *i*. With verbs commencing with *i* the same affixes are made, and *k* is also prefixed. Other substantives which form the singular by affixing *a* or *e* to the plural were probably first known in their collective state.

Examples of substantives made from the roots of verbs not commencing with *i*:

Plural.	Singular.	Verbal root.	English.
In-dunat	En-dunata	-dol, -dua	The witness.
In-jiŋget	En-jiŋgata	-jiŋg	The entrance.
Il-ebŋet	El-ebŋata	-ebŋ	The ford.
Il-limot	El-limota	-lim	The news.
Il-lalot	El-lalota	-lal	The place to creep through.
I-munyuat	E-munyuata	-munyy	The warrior's brand.
I-opiat	E-opiata	-opiŋ	The mouthful of food, the cud.
I-rishat	E-rishata	-rish	The boundary.
I-oroat	E-oroata	-oro	The foot-print.
I-sirat	E-sirata	-sir	The markings, stripes.
I-sirat	O-sirata	-sir	The letter, bill.
In-dunat	En-dunata	-dun	The measure.
In-dotuat	En-dotuata	-dot	The seat, rest.
Il-turot	Ol-turota	-tur	The pond, puddle.
In-durot	En-durota	-tur	The ditch.
En-nadiget	En-nadigata	-nadig	The place struck by a club thrown from a distance, the bruise.

Examples of substantives made from the roots of verbs which commence with *i*:

En-gilimot	En-gilimata	-ilim	The being able.
En-gidurrudumot	En-gidurrudumata*	-durrudur	The thunder.
En-gidiŋgenot	En-gidiŋgenata	-diŋgen	The astonishment.
En-ginogot	En-ginogata	-inog	The sleeping place, the hospitality.

* Also en-gidurrudurata.

[illegible] 539

And they him follow [illegible], and he puts in the big one

[illegible]

the arm his the hole, and he seizes the leg of the hare.

[illegible]

And he him says to the hare: "I say I [illegible]

[illegible]

the root."

[illegible]

And he it leaves, and he seizes the root.

[illegible]

And he him says to the hare: "You can have brothers,

[illegible]

you can have brothers."

[illegible]

And he it pulls [illegible] very, and he it pulls until

[illegible]

he very tires himself.

[illegible]

Now he it pulling is, and he come away the hare,

[illegible]

and he come away thither the elephant.

[illegible]

And he goes the hare, and he goes (or sees) the [illegible], and he says

[illegible]

the hare: "O [illegible]! (ye) [illegible]."

[illegible]

And they him say to the [illegible]: "What which do you [illegible]?"

[illegible]

And he says the hare: "The big ones [illegible], [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]"

[illegible] [202]

[illegible] [46]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Districts.	Sub-districts.
	[illegible] (the horse), [illegible] (of the [illegible] tree), [illegible] (watering place), [illegible] (the [illegible] which is [illegible]), [illegible] (which [illegible] the beasts of prey), [illegible] (place of many springs), [illegible] (the one [illegible]), [illegible] (the plain between two hills), [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] (the small [illegible]), [illegible] (the bubbling spring), [illegible].
'L-uasin-gishu[1] (the striped cattle).	'L-uasin-gishu narok (the black striped cattle), 'L-uasin-gishu [illegible] (the red striped cattle).
'L-aikipiak[1].	[illegible], [illegible], [illegible] (those who are not chosen [illegible] by [illegible]), [illegible], [illegible] (of the lowland), [illegible] (of the white thing), [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] (the white bulls), [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] ([illegible]'s kraal), [illegible], [illegible].

When the article forms a part of the above names, the vowel is omitted if it follows a word ending in a vowel.

Alo 'N-[illegible]	I go to [illegible].
Alo 'L-[illegible]	I go to [illegible].

The Masai reckon time by "ages" or periods of about seven and a half years. The following account of the Masai ages is given in the words of the Masai themselves.

[illegible]	The Masai have what they call ages.
[illegible]	Children are not all circumcised together: they are divided up into ages, for they are not all alike in point of years. First of all the big ones are circumcised, and the small ones wait until they grow up (i.e. until they reach the age of puberty).
[illegible]	Now, those who are circumcised first belong to what is called the

[1] Owing to cattle plague, famine, and civil wars, the Masai occupying the Uasin-gishu and Laikipiak districts have practically ceased to exist. The remnants have been scattered and mixed with other tribes.

974 Aimer, meeejing eng-aji oo-'l-Kishomu, amu mme oo-o-'l-porror lenye.

instance, to the Aimer age, he must not enter the hut of one of the Kishomu age, as he does not belong to this age.

Kake eikilikuan, aje: 'Kaaino 'ng-ajijik oo-'l-Aimer?' Ore y' eitodoi, eejing eng-aji nabo.

He will ask where the huts of the members of the Aimer age are, and when he has been shown them, he will enter one.

Ore pe-ejing, neinyototo likae-openy eng-aji, nelo eiligore 'n-gitupat ti-ai-enkaji, neton ol-omoni abaitare e-kerenyiai.

[889] When he has entered, the owner of the hut leaves him and goes to search for a place to sleep in elsewhere, the stranger remaining with his wife[a].

Araiki ten eata ol-openy eng-aji 'ngoroyiok kumok, nelo eirragye, neilingwaki ol-omoni lene-aji neijijinga nairraga.

Or if the owner of the hut has several wives, he goes to sleep with one of them, leaving the stranger in the hut he entered.

Meidim ol-tungani loo-'l-Maasae aitaniki ol-omoni engiroyata, amu tara, ten adek ol-porror lenye, ata.

A Masai cannot refuse hospitality to a stranger (of his own age) for he is afraid that the other members of his age will curse him, and he will die.

233 181 'N-gishu[b], oo 'n-gujit, oo kulle. — Cattle, grass, and milk.

Eeyeu il-Maasae 'n-gishu naleng; meitanyaanyukye 'n-gishu en-kitok[c]. Kake 'n-gishu pokin ing-arna enye anaa 'l-tunganak.

[552] The Masai love their cattle very much, and consider that nothing in the world is of equal value. As with people, each cow is known by name.

Etii o-rorei lenye aje:

There is a saying which is as follows:

'Eriepuare en-giteng nabo ol-lughunya o-'l-lee.'

[556] 'One cow resembles a man's head.'

Eje, ten e-tum ol-lee en-

They mean by this that if a man

[196] [118] [911]

[a] Vide note a, p. 302.

[b] The Masai cattle are of the humped Zebu type.

[c] Schweinfurth (*The Heart of Africa*, vol. i, p. 174) writes with regard to the Dinka and other Nilotic tribes: 'The poor savages . . . pay almost a divine homage to their cattle which they hold dearer than wife or child.' Kaufmann (*Schilderungen*, p. 120) adds that on the death of a cow a Dinka goes into mourning as he would if a relation had died.

It is possible to consider that solidarity as a kind of class identity. This identity does not exclude the possible variations and differentiations of class-members arising from individual differentiations of talents and character, from leadership, seniority and social prestige attached to the possession of a great number of wives and a large herd of cattle. The main expressions of that identity are the use of a single name for the whole class and some special marriage regulations which apply to class members and, to some extent, to their children.

Thus, a man may not marry the daughter of a member of his own class. If he fornicates with her he is punished by his own age-mates. " His kraal is destroyed, he is severely beaten, and a number of his oxen are slaughtered ". Similarly, " if a warrior or boy commits adultery with a wife of a man belonging to his father's age-grade (or class), he is solemnly cursed by the members of that age-grade ". (Hollis). Furthermore, any class member when a guest of any of his age-mates, has a right to cohabit with his host's wife. Merker, says that a widow " must not re-marry but she must live with the members of her deceased husband's class ". This " sexual communism ", as Hollis calls it, takes place only among members of the same class. It is limited, of course, by clan and kinship exogamy, which, even for class members, is strictly enforced.

At the performance of the *Embolosat*, *Engibata*, *Unoto*, *Ngeherr* names are given to sets instituted. Names assumed at the *Embolosat*, *Engibata*, and *Unoto* are temporary, for temporary is the nature of the set thus established. At the *Ngeherr*-proper all previous names are discarded for a single name which is final and applies to the age-class as a whole. It is this name which is handed down to the following generations. Age-class names are, as it were, the milestones by which Masai can order their past into a certain historical perspective. Class names are thus recalled when historical facts are recounted.

Lists of class-names have been recorded by our authorities. It may be of interest to reproduce here some of those lists collected by Merker, Fox, and Fosbrooke.[100] Fosbrooke has attempted

has been shown them, he will enter one. When he has entered, the owner of the hut leaves him and goes to search for a place to sleep in... A Masai cannot refuse hospitality to a stranger (of his own age) for he is afraid that the other members of his age will curse him, and he will die ".

[100] Merker, *l. c.*, p. 299; Fox, *l. c.*, pp. 480, 482; Fosbrooke, *l. c.*, pp. 11 s.

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a concordance of class-names with dates and some known historical facts.[113] At this stage there is no need to indicate how the very precise 14 years interval is misleading: dates must be taken as a vague attempt to a correct translation of Masai age-system intomo system.[114]

	MERKER (1904)	FOX (1930)	FOSBROOKE (1948)
1	–	Il Nadoyo	–
2	–	Il Seliandi	–
3	El Dingi	Il Tiyogi	Dingi [illegible] – *Members of this class are to be remembered by living elders.*
4	El Kinaroni	–	Kinaroni [illegible]
5	El Meitachari	I Meitahara	Meitachari [illegible]
6	El Kidotu	Il Kidotu	Kidotu [illegible]
7	El Dwati	Il Twati	Dwati [illegible]
8	El Nyangusi	Il Nyangusi	Nyangusi [illegible] – *One or two members still alive.*
9	? Aimer	Il Aimer	Laimer [illegible]
10	–	Il Talala	Dalala [illegible] – *Famine, rinderpest and smallpox.*
11	–	Il Twati	Dwati [illegible] – *First contact with Europeans.*
12	–	Il Tareto	Dareto [illegible] – *The great war.*
			Kinale [illegible] – *Right-hand unit.*
			Marishu [illegible] – *Left-hand unit.*

[114] [113] Figures of years are described by FOSBROOKE as the "approximate date of circumcision. The expression is very vague and shows how inaccurate the usual terminology is. Following our analysis it seems clear that "circumcision" means here "age-class", and, therefore, dates may be referred to either the performance of *Emboloso* or the performance of the *Eunoto* proper

[14] [114] A fourth list recorded by HOLLIS, l. c., p. 263, is not reproduced here because it is evident from a comparison with the other lists that it contains "an indiscriminate mixture of age (unit) and class-names" (FOX).

12: Fox G-S (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Massai FL12
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are often called *I-Sipolio* or *Loiborion* (see Hollis, p. 300, Pl. XXIX).[1] They shoot at girls with wax-headed arrows, and a girl who is shot must then give the novice a ring, which is usually, if not always, of a special type, being very much curled and twisted. The novices must observe the following rules :—

They must enter the village before the cattle every evening.
Must not drink blood or eat meat or touch it with the hand.
Must not wash.
Must not have sexual intercourse with girls (this is not kept strictly).
Must not fight or be struck by anyone. Anyone who strikes a novice must put milk on his head.
Must not go out in the day time without the head-dress of stuffed birds.

O-Sipolio, plur. *I-Sipolion*, is the general word for any dance. (Cf., p. 191.)

Warriorhood.—The Age-group system plays such a large part in the tribal organization that I will deal with it in detail.

A right-side circumcision is called *E-Warata e tatene* = the circumcision of right. A left-side circumcision is *E-Warata e kolpange* = the circumcision of left.[2]

Each of these groups is called *Ol pore*, an age-group. Each age-group takes a temporary name after circumcision and receives a new one at its *E-Unoto* ceremony. For example, the present age of Purko warriors was called *Il-Tiapi* prior to their *E-Unoto*, when they took the name of *Il-Kidenok*.

A right and a left age-group together form a larger group, which I shall refer to as a generation in contradistinction to an age. The term for a generation is *Ol ipi*, but it is also often loosely designated as *Ol pore*.

Speaking generally, each section has a different name for its various age-groups. The exceptions are (a) Loita and Siria. (b) Kaiyoni, Il-Odokilani and Matapato, who respectively share a single *E-Unoto* ceremony and therefore have age-names common to their respective groups.

The generation names emanate from the Kisongo in Tanganyika Territory and are common to all the Masai. They are given even after the warriors of the combined ages have become elders. Thereafter the age-names tend to fall into disuse and be replaced by the generation name.

A large number of names is given in Hollis, p. 300, but forms an indiscriminate mixture of age- and generation-names.

In the following table I have confined myself to names in everyday use in order to avoid errors and make for simplicity.[3] It will be noted that several sections do not have a left-side circumcision. In the remaining sections the right side is more popular than the left.

[1] I do not know the origin of the terms "right" and "left."
[2] For other generation names see Hollis, *infra*.

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Ill. 97. Masai sheep.

231 [illegible] Where the Masai are neighbours of the Somali (in British East Africa), the camel has also found entry among them as a beast of burden. They do not, however, generally share the passion of their neighbours, for whose palates the meat of these animals is a special delicacy. The Masai do not keep chickens, ducks, pigeons,
233 etc. The attachment of the Masai to their cattle, especially to the cows, makes them seem to them like companions and friends. Thus
952 their habit of giving their animals names, especially considering the extravagance that the people indulge in with proper names, does not seem at all surprising. The [illegible] means that the cow has come from a distance. [illegible] was captured in the vicinity. [illegible] is a cow given as bride price. [illegible] is one such that was received as a gift from an uncle or aunt. A cow paid as fine is called [illegible]. Each of the five cases that the

[33 cont.]



Ill. 54. Bull with ornamental brand.
(The G [= Government] on the hind leg is not part of it. [illegible] have been branded on the animal when it came to the [illegible] herd.)

captures of the first head of cattle on a war expedition receives as a reward is called [illegible]. Other names for cows are: [illegible]. A male calf dropped by the cow [illegible] is called [illegible], while a female calf is simply given its mother's name.

[illegible] Cattle, donkeys, and small livestock bear ownership marks. These consist of cuts or burnt lines on one or both ears and of lines and curves burned on the left side of the body. The marks (Plates [illegible] and [illegible]) [illegible], if put on the body; [illegible], if on the ear) on the cattle and donkeys